

Message Text

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ACTION H-01

INFO OCT-01 AF-04 EUR-08 NEA-07 IO-06 ISO-00 SS-07 NSC-06
NSCE-00 /040 W
-----271408Z 130642 /43

R 271130Z DEC 76
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2121
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY JIDDA
AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY SANA
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
CINCEUR

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 ADDIS ABABA 12535

NOFORN/LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OREP (RICHARDSON, WILLIAM), FT,PINT,PFOR
SUBJECT: STAFFDEL RICHARDSON VISIT TO TFAI

REF: ADDIS ABABA 12401 (DTG 161456Z DEC 76) AND PREVIOUS

SUMMARY: FOLLOWING ARE HIGHLIGHTS OF RICHARDSON CONVERSATIONS
DJIBOUTI, DECEMBER 19-20, AND EMBOFF'S CONVERSATIONS DEC. 19-21.
DRAFT MEMCONS OF RICHARDSON'S TALKS WITH HIGHT COMMISSIONER, HAS-
SAN GOULED AND AHMED DINI, AND MINISTERS OF INTERIOR, PUBLIC
WORKS, AND CIVIL SERVICE (ACTING TFAI COUNCIL PRESIDENT) AND
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DETAILED AIRGRAM WILL FOLLOW. EMBOFF'S GENERAL IMPRESSIONS WERE:
A) POPULAR AFRICAN LEAGUE FOR INDEPENDENCE (LPAI) FIRMLY IN
CONTROL;
B) HASSAN GOULED CONSENSUS CHOICE TO BE FIRST "REPUBLIC
OF DJIBOUTI" (ROD) PRESIDENT WITH AN AFAR PRIME MINISTER
LIKELY;

C) LPAI AND FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF THE SOMALI
COAST (FLCS) EFFORTS CLOSELY COORDINATED;
D) EPMG PLAYING DESTABILIZING ROLE;
D) FOREIGN CONSULAR PRESENCE INCREASING RAPIDLY;
F) GENERAL CONSENSUS EXISTS THAT USG, SAUDI ARBIA, AND
EGPTY COULD PLAY STABILIZING ROLES: AND
G) TERRITORY WILL SUFFER MAJOR ECONOMIC CRISIS FOLLOWING
INDEPENDENCE UNLESS ADEQUATE FRENCH AND OTHER FOREIGN ASSIS-
TANCE AVAILABLE. END SUMMARY:.

1. IN LENGTHY DISCUSSION, CAMILLE D'ORNANO, TFAI HIGH COMMIS-
SIONER, MADE FOLLOWING POINTS:

A) FRENCH POLICY IS TO ATTEMPT UNITE ALL POLITICAL FACTIONS
IN TERRITORY;
B) PRESENT GOVERNMENT NOT PRO-SOMALI, BUT FORMER GOVERNMENT
OF ALI AREF COULD BE CHARACTERIZED AS ANTI-SOMALI;
C) HASSAN GOULED ESSENTIALLY A NATIONALIST;
D) HIGHLY UNLIKELY AT THIS TIME THAT GSDR WOULD ATTEMPT
SUBVERSION OR MILITARY AGRESSION;
E) EPMG HAS TOTAL MISCONCEPTION OF PRESENT GOVERNMENT AND
PURSUING POLICIES CONTRARY TO ITS OWN INTERESTS;
F) OGADEN AND TFAI ISSUES SHOULD BE DEALT WITH SEPARATELY
BY EPMG AND GSDR;
G) HE HAD HELD UP ABDALLAH KAMIL'S VISIT TO MOGADISCIO
FOR TWO MONTHS IN HOPE OF ETHIOPIAN INVITATION;
H) INVITATION BY SAUDIS TO KAMIL TO VISIT SAUDI ARBIA
WOULD BE WELL RECEIVED AND PROMPTLY ACCEPTED;
I) US SHOULD KEEP LOW PROFILE UNTIL INDEPENDENCE, WORK THROUGH
SAUDIS AND EGYPTIANS, AND ATTEMPT PERSUADE EPMG THAT GOF AND
TFAI POLITICIANS WILL PROTECT LEGITIMATE EPMG INTERESTS;
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J) EPMG FINANCING POLICY OF DISRUPTION IN TFAI THAT COULD
DESTROY HIS EFFORTS;
K) LPAI REPRESENTS OP 0/0 OF POPULATION OF DJIBOUTI, A CITY
WHICH IS 80 0/0 SOMALIE;
L) ALI AREF HAS NO POLITICAL FUTURE;
M) LPAI CAPABLE OF PUTTING 10,000 PEOPLE IN STREETS IF GOF
FOLLOWS POLICIES IT OPPOSES;
N) SOVIET ACTIVITIES MINIMAL;
O) IF FUTURE GOVERNMENT ASKS, GOF MILITARY PRESENCE A
CERTAINTY;
P) US ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE WOULD BE WELCOME AFTER INDEPENDANCE;
Q) HE PERSONALLY FELT US CONSULAR PRESENCE IN TERRITORY IN
PRE-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD WOULD SERVE USEFUL ROLE;
R) WHILE HE SUPPORTS GOF POLICIES FOR TERRITORY, IMPRESSION
GIVEN THAT HE BELIEVES NOT ENOUGH ATTENTION BEING PAID TO TFAI
BY HIGH-LEVEL GOF OFFICIALS; AND
S) ANY OPEN CONTACT BY US OFFICIALS AT THIS TIME WITH FORMER
TFAI PRESIDENT ALI AREF IN DJIBOUTI WOULD BE COUNTERPRO-

DUCTIVE TO US INTERESTS. IN VIEW FACT NOT ALL HIGH COM-MISSIONER'S VIEWS IN ACCORDANCE WITH WHAT WE UNDERSTAND IS GOF POLICY, WOULD APPRECIATE ADDRESSEES PROTECTING SOURCE.

2. DURING CALL WITH MINISTER OF INTERIOR MOUHIN BAHDON, WOH ALSO VICE-PRESIDENT OF LPAI, MINISTER INDICATED:

- A) SIX MONTHS TO ONE YEAR NECESSARY TO DEVELOP NECESSARY MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY FORCES;
 - B) NO GOF MILITARY PRESENCE REQUIRED AFTER INDEPENDENCE EXCEPT FOR TRAINING;
 - C) NATIONAL UNION FOR INDEPENDENCE (UNI) SECRETARY GENERAL HAD STATED UNI HAD FINANCIAL SUPPORT OF ETHIOPIA AND USG (EMBOFF DISCLAIMED US SUPPORT);
 - D) ETHIOPIA PROVIDING LARGE SUMS (APPROXIMATELY \$3 MILLION US) TO UNI AND POPULAR LIBERATION MOVEMENT (MPL);
 - E) MOST HELPFUL US ROLE WOULD BE TO SUPPORT FRANCE AND RESTRAIN EPMG;
 - F) GSDR ASSISTANCE TO LPAI LIMITED TO TRAINING OF CADRE;
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- G) LPAI NOT PRO-SOMALI;
- H) LPAI AND FLCS ACTING AS ONE TEAM;
- I) HASSAND GOULED TO BE PRESIDENT WITH AHMED DINI AS PRIME MINISTER; AND
- J) FUTURE ROD TO FOLLOW POLICY OF NEUTRALITY AFTER INDEPENDENCE.

3. CIVIL SERVICE MINISTER ABDUL KADIR WABERI ASKAR, WHO ACTING COUNCIL OF MINISTERS PRESIDENT AND MEMBER OF PARLIAMENTARY OPPOSITION GROUP, INDICATED IN PRESENCE THREE FRENCH ADVISORS:

- A) FUTURE ROD TO MAINTAIN STRONG TIES WITH GOF AND WEST;
- B) ROD WOULD WELCOME US ASSISTANCE AFTER INDEPENDENCE;
- C) UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEMS IN TFAI SERIOUS;
- D) NOTED RECENT WORLD BANK LOAN TO EPMG AS EXAMPLE OF CLOSE USG SUPPORT FOR EPMG; AND
- E) ROD WOULD FOLLOW POLICY OF NEUTRALITY BUT WOULD JOIN OAU AND ARAB LEAGUE.

4. MOHAMED DJAMA ELABE, FORMER ISSA LIEUTENANT OF ALI AREF AND PRESENTLY MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS, GENERALLY CONFINED HIS REMARKS TO PROBLEMS HIS MINISTRY. MAJOR PROBLEM OF TERRITORY IS FINANCIAL. TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM IN GOOD SHAPE, TFAI YET UNABLE DEVELOP TOURISM BECAUSE OF INTERNAL INFRASTRUCTURE PROBLEMS (ROADS, HOTELS, ETC.), MINISTER STRESSED CLOSE TIES WITH GOF AND WEST, INDICATED DESIRE TO PRESERVE LIBERAL ECONOMY, AND NEED FOR EXTERNAL ASSISTANCE. EPMG DISQUIET OVER POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN TERRITORY ALL ENCOMPASSING AND UNJUSTIFIED. USG SHOULD OFFER ASSISTANCE AND ENCOURAGE PRIVATE INVESTMENT. MINISTER NOTED TFAI HAD NO TRADITIONAL TIES WITH SOCIALIST COUNTRIES AND HOPED SUCH TIES COULD BE KEPT

TO A MINIMUM. HE STATED PRESENT COALITION OF LPAI, FLCS,
AND PARLIAMENTARY OPPOSITION EFFECTIVELY NEUTRALIZED FLCS.

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ACTION H-03

INFO OCT-01 AF-04 EUR-08 NEA-07 IO-06 ISO-00 SS-07 NSC-06
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-----271408Z 130778 /43

R 271130Z DEC 76
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 ADDIS ABABA 12535

NOFORN/LIMDIS

AS AN OLD FRIEND OF ALIR AREF, HE INDICATED IT WOULD BE VERY
DIFFICULT FOR FOMER PRESIDENT TO FIND POLITICAL SUPPORT AT
PRESENT. MINISTER NOTED IN CLOSING THAT PARADOXICALLY
ARID TERRITORY'S MAJOR EXPORT WAS WATER (FOR BUNKERING),
AND THAT TERRITORY WOULD BE WILLING TO TRADE "WATER" FOR
"SAUDI OIL".

5. IN DETAILED CONVERSATION WITH LPAI PRESIDENT HASSAN GOULED
AND SECRETARY GENERAL AHMED DINI, DINI ACTED AS SPOKESMAN
WITH GOULED LEADING DINI BACK TO THE TRACK WHEN HIS OPINIONS
STRAYED. DINI STRESSED EPMG MENACE AND DEMAND FOR GUARANTEES
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WHICH WOULD IN EFFECT LIMIT INDEPENDENCE OF ROD. EPMG WANTED TO DIRECT TFAI'S FOREIGN POLICY AND HAVE UPPER HAND ON ITS ECONOMY. DESIRES FOR FREINDSHIP WITH EPMG SPURNED AND EPMG FINANCIALLY SUPPORTING OPPOSITION. HE INDICATED LPAI HAD CONTACTED BOTH PDRY AND USUN (BENNETT) AND ASKED THEY ATTEMPT TO CALM EPMG. DENIED LPAI PRO-SOMALI, AND STATED ROD WANTED BALANCED RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBORS. DINI STATED FUTURE STATE DID NOT WISH TO BE SOCIALIST, BUT RATHER FORESAW ROLE AS "HONG KONG" FOR SOCIALIST NEIGHBORS ETHIOPIA, SOMALI, AND PDRY. GOULED NOTED THAT BEFORE VISIT TO SMALIA, LPAI HAD MADE FOUR REQUESTS TO EPMG FOR VISIT WITH NO REPLY. LPAI HAD OFFICE IN MOGADISCIO, EPMG FONMIN KIFLE HAD DEFINITELY REFUSED SAME IN ADDIS. DINI STATED SOVIET ACTIVITIES MINIMAL, AND THAT WHILE LPAI HAD NO CONTACTS WITH SOVIETS, IT NOT ANTI-SOVIET. GOULED NOTED DOMINANT POSITION OF USSR IN SOMALIA. DINI CLAIMED PARLIAMENTARY-LPAI COALITION WORKING WELL AND THAT, PENDING INDEPENDENCE, KAMIL WOULD REMAIN TFAI PRESIDENT AS LONG AS HE CONTINUED TO PRESS PROGRAM AGREEABLE TO LPAI. ON QUESTION OF GOF MILITARY PRESNECE, DINI NOTED DILEMMA THAT ROD NEEDED DEFENSE FORCE, LACKED ARMY OR MONEY, BUT DID NOT WISH BASE ITS DEFENSE ON OUTSIDE POWERS. GOULED NOTED NO STRATEGIC BASE WOULD BE ALLOWED AFTER INDEPENDENCE. WHIMSICALLY, HE NOTED THAT IF TERRITORY HAD NOTHIN ELSE, IT HAD ITS PRIDE. COULED NOTED US AND ROD NEEDED EACH OTHER AND EXPRESSED DESIRE FOR ASSISTANCE AFTER INDEPENDENCE. PRIVATE INVESTMENT ALSO DESIRABLE IN PARTNERSHIP WITH FUTURE GOVERNMENT. IN RESPONSE TO QUESTION ON US ROLE PRIOR TO INDEPENDENCE, BOTH NOTED US CONSULAR PRESENCE WOULD BE DESIRABLE PRIOR TO INDEPENDENCE. DINI NOTED THIS MIGHT REASSURE EPMG, WHILE GOULED APPEARED LESS SURE (A STOIC "PERHAPS, PERHAPS"), DINI EXPRESSED INTEREST IN ARAB SUPPORT, NOTING EGYPTIANS HAD JUST OPENED CONSULATE, WHILE SAUDIS NOT NEGOTIATING FOR ONE.

6. IN EMBOFF CONVERSATION WITH SOMALI VICE-CONSUL HOMOUD WILLIG, WILLIG INDICATED PDRY HAD ESTABLISHED CONSULATE, WITH
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SUDANESE AND KUWAITIS TO FOLLOW IN NEAR FUTURE. HE STATED LPAI AND FLCS WOULD HAVE COMMON DELEGATION AT JANUARY PARIS MEETING.

7. CHAMBER OF COMMERCE PRESIDENT, AND ARAB, STRESSED FEARS IN BUSINESS COMMUNITY OVER INDEPENDENCE. WHILE INFLATION A PROBLEM, IT PRIMARILY AFFECTED GOODS PURCHASED BY WESTERNERS. NO REAL INVESTMENT HAD OCCURRED IN TFAI IN PAST YEAR, UNEMPLOYMENT HIGH, AND TERRITORY HAD ARTIFICAIAL ECONOMY. LOCAL MANAGER MOBIL OIL SIMILARY NOTED ARTIFICAIAL

ECONOMY. AND FANTASTIC WAGE COSTS IN TFAI. ECONOMY OF FUTURE STATE COULD NOT EXIST AS AT PRESENT WITHOUT OUTSIDE ASSISTANCE. HE HAD NO FEARS FOR FUTURE OF MOBIL, ONLY US COMPANY IN TERRITORY. FRENCH HOTEL OWNER WHO FORMER TERRITORIAL DEPUTY STRESSED FEAR OF FRENCH BUSINESS COMMUNITY OVER FUTURE OF TFAI AND INDICATED HIS VIEW THAT HIGH COMMISSIONER LEFTIST. HE NOTED THAT LPAI HAD SUPPORT OF ISSAS AND YOUNG AFARS AND EFFECTIVELY CONTROLLED DJIBOUTI.

8. FRENCH ESCORT OFFICER, COMMANDANT BELLEC, DIRECTOR OF BUREAU DES ETUDES IN HIGH COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE, INDICATED SULTAN ALI MIRAH RETAINS CONSIDERABLE POLITICAL POWER IN TERRITORY. SULTAN HAS BACKED ABDALLAH KAMIL, WHO STRONG REPRESENTS AFAR INTERESTS. UNEMPLOYMENT IN CITY AT 50 0/0, AND GOF HAD DIFFICULTY IN DECIDING IF PRIORITY SHOULD BE GIVEN TO SHORT TERM PROJECTS TO CONTROL UNEMPLOYMENT OR LONG TERM INFRASTRUCTURE INVESTMENTS. HE STATED 50/50 POPULATION BALANCE BETWEEN AFARS AND ISSAS WAS FICTION CREATED BY GOF IN ORDER TO JUSTIFY SUPPORT FOR ALI AREF, WHOSE POLICIES HAD BEEN TOTALLY PRO-AFAR.

9. ABDUL KADER ABDOURAMAN, CHEF DU CABINET OF ALI AREF, ALSO CALLED ON EMOFF TO FACILITATE MEETING BETWEEN EMOFF AND FORMER PRESIDENT. EMOFF DECLINED MEETING IN DJIBOUTI NOTING HIGH COMMISSIONER'S OBJECTIONS, BUT STATED USG PREPARED TO LISTEN TO FORMER PRESIDENT. EMOFF SUGGESTED FORMER PRESIDENT CONTACT HIM IN ADDIS OR CONTACT AMBASSADORS PORTER OR EILTS IN

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JIDDA OR CAIRO.

10. FRENCH COOPERATION EXCELLENT, AND FRENCH EMBASSY HERE HAD RELAYED WORD TO US FROM HICOMER OFFICE THAT FRENCH WOULD BE RELUCTANT TO ARRANGE APPOINTMENTS IN DJIBOUTI WITH TFAI POLITICIANS, BUT IT DIDN'T TURN OUT THAT WAY ONCE RICHARDSON AND EMOFF WERE ON SPOT.

11. SUBSTANCE OF THIS MESSAGE NOT CLEARED WITH RICHARDSON FOR LACK OF TIME. WE SUGGEST, HOWEVER, THAT DEPARTMENT FORWARD MEMCONS WHEN RECEIVED TO RICHARDSON'S OFFICE FOR CLEARANCE BEFORE DISTRIBUTION. RICHARDSON TLLS US HE EXPECTS PREPARE REPORT OF VISIT IN EARLY JANUARY WHICH HE WILL PASS TO TRANSITION STAFF IN DEPARTMENT.

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: VISITS, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 27 DEC 1976
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: coburnhl
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976ADDIS12535
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760472-1049
From: ADDIS ABABA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19761211/aaaaajgg.tel
Line Count: 325
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION H
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Reference: 77 ADDIS ABABA 12401
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: coburnhl
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 24 MAR 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <24 MAR 2004 by morefirh>; APPROVED <16 AUG 2004 by coburnhl>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: STAFFDEL RICHARDSON VISIT TO TFAI
TAGS: OREP, PINT, PFOR, FT, (RICHARDSON, WILLIAM)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006